244 From the family of the Solanaceae there are: Solanum melongena L. var. inerme Hiern. (ažǒ́n); Solanum dinklagei U.D. (oyǒ́la); Solanum lycopersicum L. (ažǒ́ń ntǎ́ńgan = ažǒ́ń, that is, Solanum melongena, of the Whites). The fruit of these three varieties of Solanum is eaten. Furthermore, there is Solanum aethiopicum L. (žǔm IV, enĕm) with three varieties: niǎ žǔm = true zǔm, ntǔma I, and ndzēi' -žǔm, as well as Solanum macrocarpum L. var. thonningii (etǔi' -zǔm from etǔi' - Solanum duplosinuatum U.D., because of the similarity of the fruit). The leaves of the latter two species are eaten. From the family of the Amaranthaceae there are: Celosia argentea L. (žǔm e mvɛ́lɛ́, that is, žǔm of the Mwele); Celosia laxa Schum. et Thom. (fǒ́lǒ́m [?], ebūnĕgǎn); Amaranthus paniculatus L. (fǒ́lǒ́m IV, fǒm IV). From the family of the Labiatae there are: Ocimum basilicum L. (osim); Ocimum gratissimum L. (asǒ́b); Plectranthus spec. (avǎ), afǔn; and Aeolanthus edlingeri Gürke (elɛ́lǎ́nge, Ntum; elǎ́ngelǎ́nge, Fang).

II. Livestock

231 For reasons which I shall mention in a moment, the Pangwe keep domestic animals, but this is not the kind of economic activity that could be called stock farming. The four-footed domestic animals include dogs, goats, and sheep; as for fowl, there are hens and, recently introduced, ducks.

[262] The dog (myū IV) is kept basically for hunting. It is also eaten, a practice which is especially popular among the Jaunde. In the eyes /105/ of the European this dog is no more than a caricature, a repulsive travesty of a real dog. A glance into their false eyes suffices to make one hate the animals. Usually they are covered with sores; they are thieving and treacherous, disobedient, cowardly, and at the same time quarrelsome. In these characteristics they frequently strike the observer as comparable to their masters. I was struck by their not very highly developed sexual urge, in contrast to European dogs. The Pangwe values his dog all the more highly because of its great usefulness on the hunting drive. Good hunting dogs are very difficult to obtain from their owners and are worth as much

231 435

231 [435] as medium-sized female goats and sheep (14 marks or 200 spears). Just as among us, the dogs have their own names which are taken from 231 552 the list of human names or else allude in jocular fashion to the characteristics of the animals. Frequently, indeed, these swine-snouted curs are given a first name and a patronymic, just like people, or since for obvious reasons it is at times difficult to establish the paternity of the dog, it is given a first name and its mother's name, thus, akut-e-mban.

Among human names applied to dogs I was able to discover the following: ndǒ́no (a very ancient man's name; see pages 68 and 69); asǒn (umbrella tree, man's name); mvǫ̃́nǫ̃ (Satan's ape, Colobus anthracinus Leconte); ondṓ′ (?, man's name); ntṓde-abǎ́ń (single otter, woman's name); mfū́′mezǒ́k (the white of the elephant, that is ivory; woman's name); mbǎ́ń (ivory, woman's name).

Other dogs' names are: obṓ′nǒ (from obǫ̃n = bead, one adorned with beads, perhaps also a woman's name); olŭ́ṅ (the tree Rinorea dentata [P. Beauv.] O. Ktze.); ebǒ́′nenǒ́ń (one who always lies on the bed); aji′zǫ́k (a jī′ = to yearn, zǫ́k = elephant; in other words the one who yearns for elephant meat); angŭ́n (dog's bell); odzǎ́′m (dwarf lemur, Hemigalago, because the dog bounds through the bushes like the dwarf lemurs in the trees); akū́ɪ (the stupid one).

231 556 Goats and sheep, which the Fang put together under the name kabad, are kept as an investment, as pets, and only in third place as livestock for slaughter. While the economic life is otherwise considered from the viewpoint of "food," this strikingly recedes completely into the background concerning domestic animals where the main point is the joy of possession. We thus have real "savings," the purpose of which is to store up bride money. This has its familiar consequences: thriftiness carried to the point of avarice; a piece of [262] meat allowed only on very rare occasions; and no distaste for the enjoyment of animals that have died.

231 The goats (ekǒ́′le) are just as unpleasant as the dogs because of their annoying habit of making a hullabaloo at night and because of other indecent and repulsive characteristics. The only domestic animal that we find congenial is the sheep (ntǔma I), Figure 57, but here, too, the bad example of the goats frequently spoils good manners. They "specialize" in producing, especially at night, /106/ /Fig. 57

231

Fig. 57. Sheep, Village of Makonanám (Ojek Family).

appears here in the original text/ a moan similar to that made by a human being. This moaning is so nerve-racking that it may bring tears to one's eyes. In regions where thare are leopards, [417] pens (Fig. 58) are built of logs, and the goats and sheep are driven into them at night.

232 In the Pangwe region castration is practiced only on goats, not sheep; a tŭ,b miak – to hollow out (the scrotum) (in order) to geld. Goats are castrated "so that they will become enormous and put on much fat." The procedure is very crude. The ex- [304] pert, who frequently circumcises the children at the same time, opens the young animals' scrotum by means of two lateral cuts with a razor blade (okŏ̄ngŏ̄n) and takes out the testicles. The scrotum is then washed out with warm water several times a day for four days. The water is mixed with a medicine, the sap of [278] the Guttifera Haronga paniculata Pers. (Loid.) (atŭ̄,ī̄h), pre- [124] sumably to glue the scrotum together (the tree sweats a sticky yellow sap under the bark, and this is extracted by putting pieces of bark in water).

417

Fig. 58. Pen for Sheep and Goats in Massóm (Ndong Family), South Cameroons.

This favorable influence on the physical development of the animal increases its value from about 14 marks to 35 marks (500 spears), a capital increase which is certainly desirable to the Pangwe. Even greater, however, is his joy at the beautiful appearance of the castrated animals. /107/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text./ The effect of castration is the basis for the comparison between symbolically, not physically, castrated people (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") and the castrated goats and also for designation by the same name; these people -- up to a certain point in time, at least -- are supposed to undergo conspicuous mental development. The fact that the flesh of animals also improves as food through castration plays only a secondary role.

Magnificent old specimens, including uncastrated goats and sheep, sometimes receive a human name, and their owner would never sell such an animal; indeed, he would not even give it away as a marriage portion.

Of other domestic animals there is only the cat (pfü's IV Fang, esi'nă), very recently introduced from the coast.

235 As regards poultry, only the hen (kub IV) is native. Only its
262 meat, not the eggs, is used for food, and even that rarely and on special occasions. At the proper place I shall return to the significance of the hen in the religious conceptions of the natives.

For the hens, small pens of logs are constructed behind the
235 house. In addition, baskets are hung for them on the outside and
417 inside walls of the house where they can brood. Finally, the brood hen is /108/ not refused a resting place in the house on some unused bed if she should consider it the safest and most suitable place for herself and her chicks. A hole at the bottom of the wall serves as an exit for the hen's family.

During the 1880's and 1890's ducks with a red band around
235 the eyes were introduced. Around 1890 they arrived in the Fang
177 region and were called elõ (wild duck = elõ't); later they were called sõõ' III.

● 231 Like other primitive peoples, the Pangwe cannot be called animal lovers. Except for parrots, one sees practically no tamed forest animals, not even monkeys. The Pangwe "tire" (a yõt) of looking after and feeding them, and under such circumstances one cannot blame the freedom-loving quadrupeds and birds for seeking to escape or lying down to die. Gray parrots, which immediately introduce themselves to every stranger by their name, for instance, as esă'să' = kite, are quite common. They usually find their food on the garbage heaps or among the leftovers in the house. Now and then one sees wild boars that were caught when young. Once I was brought a young leopard which a woman had tried to keep alive by feeding it from her breast; the animal badly scratched the helpful woman, and she quickly abandoned her voluntary maternal role.

231 The bee, Apis mellifica L. var. adansoni (mvũfũh IV, hũi' IV
222 Fang), is not kept, but wild honey (wũi' ; plural, mũi'), which for the most part is to be found in tree trunks, is gathered and consumed raw.

III. Fishing

226 West Africa is one of the areas of the world richest in fish.
136 Hence, the numerous rivers and streams of the Pangwe region possess great quantities of different kinds of fish. Some of the most

Fong
Fang

173 of the Nyong. According to their traditions they come from an area north of the Sanaga, as do the other groups which preceded them.
[[61]] They settled in the forest, where there are at present 12, 783 of them (a density of 6.9 persons per square km.).

231 262 The Fong are an agricultural people. They seem to have little inclination to hunt so that their diet consists chiefly of vegetables, although they have a fairly large number of domesticated animals. /Map 11/

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. Average height: men 169.7 cm.; women 162 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	80.8	81.5
Nasal	95.21	84.01

161 163 The population balance is slightly positive, the ratio of birth to deaths being + 0.77. The rate of sterility is high, 25.6 percent, but is fortunately compensated for by the fertility rate, 5.3 pregnancies per woman.

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THE FANG, THE MVAE, THE NTUMU

131 Location: $10^{\circ}45$ to $12^{\circ}45$ long.
and a few islands between 10° and $10^{\circ}30$ long.

241 in 1954 in connection with a study of family budgets.

amount of food necessary to maintain the population: a crop census was taken in 1948 in one of the Sangmélima cantons (2). In order to

2. Report of the administrative officer, J. M. Soupault. An average individual's requirement would be: 250 maize plants, 330 manioc plants, 130 plantains, 110 macabo, 7 kilograms of rice, and 32 kilograms of groundnuts.

satisfy the needs of 6, 249 inhabitants there is no "exportation" to speak of. The canton used to produce 1, 635, 000 maize plants, 2, 049, 000 manioc, 824, 190 plantain bananas, 687, 800 macabo. It furthermore provided 44 tons of rice, 200 tons of groundnuts. There were 85, 180 fruit trees producing various kinds of fruit (Pachylobes /Canarium edula Hooker, known as assa in Pahouin country—Ed./, Estulis, oranges, etc.)

Clearing land by burning and the absence of organic fertilizer probably explain the exhaustion of the soil and the shifting cultivation that results from it.

231 The breeding and rearing of small animals is nevertheless understood and practiced: goats, dogs, fowls, pigs were and still are plentiful in the villages. These animals do not seem to contribute much to the food supply nor to the economic life. The very limited practice of selling pieces of pork has dates from recent years. As a matter of fact, animals were useful for giving quasi-ritual presents, for paying bride prices, and for celebrating family occasions: at a marriage, burial, and the end of mourning, two or three goats were killed to provide food for the relatives.

Of course, these animals are not stabled or fed; the herds wander along the outskirts of villages and do not fail to plunder the gardens. There are innumerable classic quarrels between farmers and herders (with the slight difference here that no one is exclusively a herder nor exclusively a farmer). Was the practice of enclosing by hedges established so as to avoid such depredations, or to give military protection to the settlements? Whatever the origin, this practice associated with the raising of animals would have made it possible to avoid

erosion and preserve the fertility of the soil. At present it would be a definite exaggeration to speak of an enclosure system, as may be done about the Bamiléké in the western Cameroons. Did such a system ever exist in Pahouin country, and are the humble hedges sometimes to be found encircling villages or plantations traces of it? However that may be, the practice could be very beneficial, and its development is much to be desired.

The raising of animals is now on the decline, especially in villages removed from the main roads. Are sacrifices requiring goats and hens passing into disuse? /31/ Have vehicular traffic and the number of fowls run over prevented the renewal of the leasing out of domestic animals /?/ /cheptel/. These various causes may have been simultaneously at work, but the reason most often given is the development of cacao plantations. Without fences, the raising of goats and the planting of cacao trees are incompatible. To protect their plantations or to avoid endless quarrels, owners of herds have had to limit their undertakings.

Modern agriculture

Cacao is indeed the symbol and the essential component of a modern economy. From this crop and from the agricultural, juridical, and economic practices which it entails, a thousand improvements or seeds of progress appear throughout the society.

It would, however, be unfair not to mention the other economic activities of the Pahouin districts, although their influence and financial return are far behind that of cacao. Timber, though its importance has decreased, played an essential role a few decades ago. African entrepreneurs are rare in this industry where equipment is complicated and expensive. A fairly large tonnage of palmetto is sold when the market is good, although the best soil and climate for palms is not to be found here (1).

1. The Pahouin of the southern Cameroons, the Boulou and Ntoumou particularly, dislike climbing trees and often sell the bunches of dates to Mekaé on the tree. (P. A.)

But cacao remains the master crop. Its cultivation has become a part of the mores and has left its mark on psychological patterns.

shed with a roof low enough to /43/ give good protection from the sun. Some villages are placed at right angles to the road; others follow an L or Y plan, with several minseñ. Family "allotments" are separated by hedges of euphorbia, castor-oil plant, hibiscus, and bougainvillea. Sometimes one comes across sheepfolds, although in old-style (and most contemporary) villages small livestock roam at will. A village often includes a guesthouse (ayak).

In building operations the man generally takes charge of the framework and the laths, leaving to the women the preparation and application of the banco /clay daub?/. But European-style huts with their elaborate door frames and often cement floors are more and more the work of specialized artisans, who are paid to supervise the family labor provided by the owner. These men have nevertheless preserved, along with the English term "mason," the old name nloñ nda, literally, hut-weaver, which goes back to the time when huts were made of sewn bark (1).

1. The dwelling continues to evolve: framed doors, windows, and shutters are in general use today. The dimensions of the buildings lead to the construction of a real frame. Finally, to possess a sheet-iron roof is a sign of wealth. In recent years there has arisen a real passion for the improvement of dwelling: in the Cameroons we may estimate that 10 percent of the dwellings now built in the bush are the most modern type. (J.B.)

2. Groupings and Relationships

The main divisions of Pahouin society are both exactly defined in the minds of its members themselves and at the same time uncertain for the European observer, who is constantly tempted to state them clearly in organic forms accessible to his "logic" and who is hindered by the variations or the dialectal confusions of Pahouin terminology. Father Trilles, basing his observations on the Fang of Gabon alone, reached a sort of palaeontological reconstruction of the "Fang nation," extremely theoretical, yet not without basis

582 they belong to another clan. This is merely the application of exogamy to the maternal line and is less observed than the other rule of exogamy.

582 583 Having established this, we may distinguish several forms of marriage—Bertaut counts seven—or, on the contrary, consider them all to be derived from "regular marriage," mfañ aluk (from fañ = to do well, correctly, and luk = to marry). This kind of marriage is based on the payment of the "bride price," nsuba, nowadays essentially monetary and giving rise to abuses that have often been described, but in former times it was ritual in character, at least partially so (a century ago there was already a commercial element). The "bride price" of the past included local products (ivory, cattle) [431] (1), imported merchandise (biôm), especially loincloths, guns and

● [231] 1. The bride-price sheep, bikiga or bityiga, up to seven, which were in theory bred with a special view to payment of the nsuba and were sacrificed at the time of the marriage.

[436] ammunition, salt, trade alcohol, and, finally, a special iron currency in the form of flat arrowheads tied into bundles (bityé, biki; bikpwelé; the unit of count being the bundle, akutu bikpwelé). The last was used only for ritual or magical purposes (2). There are reasons for

[326] 2. There is a prohibition against making them; all those to be seen look old.

believing that the composition of bride prices in local products and merchandise varied according to clan structure, the affiliation of the spouses, and the marriages previously concluded by the group. Nothing of this survives today, and the bride price has become a bargaining, at times pretty sordid, even a real /52/ auction, with the bride often the first to boast of the high price she has obtained in the marriage market.

[582] 584 Marriage not long ago was, and still in a measure remains, a group affair, the concern of the two meyoñ and two menda me bôt involved, which is discussed between the head of the young man's family and the guardian responsible for the future wife, nya ndômô, "true brother," that is, an ascendant paternal relative or paternal

421 675 a job for profit and under the supervision of the lender. To lend on long terms with actual deprivation of possession of the object loaned is, on the other hand, a frequent atiñ. The same verbs mean both "to lend" and "to borrow": yôé is used for the loan-borrowing of a specific object, kôlé for something within a class of objects or of a sum of money. The thing loaned is ndôñ or ékôla, according as the case may be, or, more frequently, mvôla, which means any kind of debt or credit (mbi mvôla = creditor; mvômvôla = debtor). The borrower is required to return in good order the ndôñ and what it produces or the ékola, increased by avutan if he has profited from the loan. The borrower is responsible not only for the care but also for [672] the use that he makes of the borrowed object, the lender, however, retaining a sort of joint and several responsibility vis-à-vis third parties whom the borrower may injure by means of the borrowed object (indemnity can be claimed by the victim of an accident from the owner who has loaned his bicycle to the author of the accident), and even vis-à-vis is the borrower, if he comes to harm through the borrowed object.

437 675 From loan is derived hiring, indicated by the same word as the loan of a specific object, yôé. /This is/ a recently introduced form of contract, and its legal position is still vague. Like loan, hiring may lead to the giving of a pledge, éban. The éban often involved people until European legislation prohibited the pledging of persons, though it is still practised clandestinely. Today it mainly involves objects that can be returned, either to the lender or to a third person; ownership of the security may /80/ be transferred to the lender when repayment falls due, without extinguishing the debt. The pawning of ungathered harvests or even of plantations is more and more common; with plantations, however, the pledge covers rights over the produce rather than over the land itself. When a girl is pawned, the repayment of the debt, aju, is sometimes considered a sort of nsuba; as long as the debt lasts, in any case, the children of the pawned girl belong to her clan and not to that of the guaranteed creditor.

231 675 The contract for the loan-grazing of livestock, meyale kabat (yale = to raise, make grow) may seem rather peculiar at first glance. The owner of an animal turns it over to the ñyale, who must look after it and, at the expiration of the contract, return not only the animal but any young. The lender gets rid of the care of a flock—he is often sending it away, moreover, to escape an animal plague—

yet takes the risk of a breach of faith on the ñyale's part. The latter is supposed to return the flock intact, but as long as he tends it, he may do what he wants with it, putting it to use like a kind of credit. It is as well to point out that this kind of contract, which at present is falling into disuse, gave occasion to endless litigation.

The trade contract under its old name abom or the newer atiñ kilak or atiñ akus kaka is, on the other hand, becoming more and more widespread. A trader, nkuan bîom or mbi fatyélé, advances to a kilak (from "clerk") cash and goods on the kilak's undertaking to provide the equivalent in a certain tonnage of cacao. The contract is set forth in a written "good for...," which represents recognition of the debt. The kilak exerts himself to collect the promised tonnage, usually by buying from planters of his clan, sometimes by subcontract with "small clerks," bone bekilak. The contract has a due date, with the usual contingencies; in the case of rising prices, the kilak may run into difficulties and not be able to furnish the promised tonnage unless planters of his family give him credit or sell to him below the price. Cacao buying is also done by commission, the agent, nlôman, (envoy), receiving a cash advance with which to buy as much cacao as possible. Both methods give rise to litigation, which is all the more common because the moneylender is usually a European or an African of another tribe, a "Gabonese" in French Equatorial Africa, a Bamiléké, mone galifis (from Coast English "Grassfield") in the Cameroons.

In general a commission is always possible, whether in making a contract or in pleading in court. The person giving the commission is called mve ngul, giver of power; the agent is called mbili ngul, possessing power. They are jointly and severally responsible.

The bilaba contract, described about (41, 77), is disappearing. There survives, however, a sort of poor man's bilaba, the meyeñ, from nneñ, guest, which allows a zesé môt, a humble man, to levy a kind of tax on the rich, minkukum, of his clan by the simple procedure of going to visit them, carrying a present /81/ which must be returned by generous hospitality and by a countergift of higher value. This is a quasi contract, sanctioned by public opinion, which is a heavy burden on people thought to be rich; it underlies the family parasitism prevalent in large towns. The reputed nkukum who tries to escape would be accused of being hard hearted, nlem ayet, which could easily lead to a charge of sorcery.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

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1 and 2, Ngi masks used in the Fang Secret Society; 3, 4, Fang idols; 5, Wooden dog-bell; 6, Ngi collar; 7, Sacrificial knife.

[p. 66(A)]